

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 192322

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TAGS: UR, XG, PO,

SUBJECT:PRAVDA ON REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS

REF: (A) MOSCOW 11235; (B) ROME 11552; (C) PARIS 20696 NOTAL

1. DEPARTMENT APPRECIATES REPORTING ON ZARODOV PRAVDA ARTICLE ON REVOLUTION (REF A). WE BELIEVE THAT WHILE ARTICLE IS MAINLY A RESTATEMENT OF LENINIST FORMULATIONS REGARDING CORRECT TACTICS IN A TRANSITIONAL SITUATION OF BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY, ZARODOV ALSO ADDRESSES A FEW WARNINGS TO THE PORTUGUESE CP -- NOTABLY IN HIS REPEATED REFERENCES NOT TO LOSE TOUCH WITH THE MASSES IN PROCESS OF GALVANIZING THEM INTO ACTION FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY OBJECTIVES. SECTARIAN ELEMENTS OF LINE TAKEN BY ZARODOV CONFLICT WITH THIS AND OTHER RECENT HINTS THAT SOVIETS, IN LIGHT OF INCREASED ATTACKS ON PORTUGUESE CP, NOW LOOK MORE FAVORABLY ON BROADENED LEFT COALITION TO OPPOSE "REACTION-ARY" ELEMENTS. SOVIET ATTACKS ON PORTUGUESE SOCIALISTS, HOWEVER, HAVE NOT CEASED. ZARODOV PIECE MAY REPRESENT SOVIET ATTEMPT TO COMBINE AND BALANCE SHOW OF MILITANCY WITH CAUTIONARY ELEMENTS APPEARING IN THIS AND OTHER STATEMENTS. ON OTHER HAND, POSSIBILITY OF DISAGREEMENT AMONG SOVIET IDEOLOGUES ON HOW TO HANDLE PORTUGUESE SITUATION CANNOT BE EXCLUDED.

2. JUDGING FROM CRITICAL WESTERN CP REACTIONS (REFS B AND C), PRAVDA'S EXPLICATION OF ORTHODOX SOVIET MARXIST-LENINIST LINE HAS BEEN PERCEIVED BY THEM AS MORE MILITANT AND SECTARIAN THAN MOST OTHER RECENT SOVIET THEORETICAL WRITINGS. KEY POINTS OF ARTICLE -- THE HEGEMONY OF PROLETARIAT FROM VERY BEGINNING OF THE "POPULAR REVOLUTION," SIMULTANEOUS DEVELOPMENT OF BOTH THE "DEMOCRATIC" AND "SOCIALIST" STAGES OF REVOLUTION, AND NECESSITY FOR PROLETARIAN PARTY TO MAINTAIN ITS SEPARATENESS -- ARE STANDARD SOVIET LENINIST FORMULAS, ALBEIT OF THE MORE MILITANT AND "LEFTIST" VARIETY.

3. SECTARIAN AND ANTI-DEMOCRATIC STRESS OF ZARODOV ARTICLE MAY HAVE BEEN PROMPTED BY THREE CURRENT SOVIET CONCERNS:

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A) PROBLEMS ARISING FROM COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION IN "POPULAR FRONTS" -- WHILE CONTINUING TO ENCOURAGE WESTERN COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION IN BROAD LEFTIST "POPULAR FRONTS," ESPECIALLY IN TIME OF DETENTE AND WESTERN ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES, SOVIETS HAVE INCREASINGLY BECOME CONSCIOUS OF POSSIBILITY OF FURTHER IDEOLOGICAL EROSION, SUBMERGENCE OF SEPARATE CP IDENTITY, AND DECLINE OF SOVIET INFLUENCE OVER WESTERN CP'S PARTICIPATING IN SUCH FRONTS.

FRENCH, ITALIAN AND SPANISH CP'S MAY HAVE BEEN PARTICULAR TARGETS OF ZARODOV ARTICLE. SOVIETS MIGHT ALSO HAVE IN MIND POSSIBILITY THAT INCREASED MERGING OF WESTERN CP'S WITH NON-COMMUNIST FORCES COULD AROUSE ENVY AND CONSEQUENT DISCONTENT IN COMMUNIST STATES OF EASTERN EUROPE.

B) CHANGING ASSESSMENT OF WESTERN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS -- SOVIETS IN RECENT MONTHS HAVE LEVELED INCREASED CRITICISM AT WESTERN EUROPEAN SOCIALISTS. INDIVIDUAL FRENCH SOCIALISTS HAVE BEEN LAMBASTED FOR ANTI-SOVIETISM; SOCIALIST GERMAN DEFENSE MINISTER LEBER HAS BEEN CASTIGATED AS ARCH-HAWK; PORTUGUESE SOCIALISTS HAVE BEEN LINKED WITH REACTIONARIES, AND RECENT EUROPEAN SOCIALIST CONFERENCE DERIDED FOR "INTERFERING" IN PORTUGAL. ARTICLE MAY REFLECT MORE WARY SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARD CP COOPERATION WITH SOCIALISTS.

C) DESIRE FOR SHOW OF MILITANCY AT TIME OF CSCE AND PORTUGUESE CRISIS -- SOVIETS MAY WISH TO ESCAPE CHARGES OF INSUFFICIENT REVOLUTIONARY ZEAL AT TIME WHEN TIES WITH CAPITALIST GOVERNMENTS REAFFIRMED AT CSCE. PERCEIVED NEED FOR EXPRESSION OF MILITANCY MAY HAVE BEEN HEIGHTENED BY PORTUGUESE CRISIS. SOVIETS, AFTER CHILEAN EPISODE, MAY WISH TO AVOID ANY SHOOOF PUBLIC FAINTHEARTEDNESS IN BACKING REVOLUTIONARY CP UNDER ATTACK. KISSINGER

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